1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo*, are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaelcanga*. No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua*. Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 264 **80. Fakauloula kai:** Doing a dance with the food.

A man who is distinguishing himself by fine trencher work, blissfully unaware that his performance is not giving as much satisfaction to his hosts or co-diners as to himself, may be called to his bearings by being asked not to do a dance with the food. An explanation has been offered to the effect that as the onlookers derive pleasure from the dance, so the greedy man behaves as though the spectators derived satisfaction from his exhibition. It may, however, be nothing more than a reference to the nimble movements that the food is being made to execute.

81. Fangafanga uu tau he tae: Preparing to eat, getting to rubbish.

Disappointed expectations, as of one who anticipates food, but finds that there is nothing but rubbish (literally dung) to eat.

539 565 622 554 **82. Fie uo kae kaipo:** Wanting friends (literally crowd) but selfish.

This is primarily applicable to the chiefs, about whom the people were wont to gather. A chief who treated his people kindly and fed them well would find many happy to live with him. A chief who selfishly ate the best of everything himself was not taking the right measures to attract about him a numerous body of followers. So used of a man who, for the sake of prestige or companionship, desires to have many people about him, but who is too selfish to treat them with that generosity which will win their esteem and make them contented to live with him.

539 262 **83. Hange ha inu vai lolo:** Like drinking oil liquid, that is, liquid adjunct to food into whose composition the expressed milk of the coconut has entered.

Coconut enters very largely into the preparation of native dishes and is also used alone as a relish to yams and vegetables in default of meat. The phrase indicates one who, if nothing better is offering, is quite ready to enjoy his food with a little coconut milk as the only relish. So used of a man who is easy to suit in the matter of food, and who shows no fastidious preferences.

539 272 273 177 **84. Inu ti inu kota, Kakapapalangi fakatonga:** Drink tea, drink *kota;* European fashion, Tongan fashion.

The *kota* is an infusion of fermented coconut which has been ground and strained. The phrase, which is of course modern, indicates one who at one time is anxious to adopt European standards and modes of life and at another clings to the old Tongan ways.

539 264 **85. Jii a maanga ngako:** Small mouthful (but) fat.

A small quantity of food which is tasty and luscious. Used generally of that which is small in quantity but of excellent quality. (Compare No. 203.)

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gath-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

733
276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden,
[735] the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a
lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who
[461] are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are
conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings
or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava*
before going to sleep.

276 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally
593 deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated
733 by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks
kava several times daily. His own house is small and un-
suitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush
[716] that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous
and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush
after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in
which to leave a wife and small children without adult male
protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry
because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic
brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband.
Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves
[156] gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely
[181] "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is
given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the
very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of
[434] the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he
[432] spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household
is poor in every respect.

276 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village
733 opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have
become an addict because of certain personality difficulties
which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatis-
factory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for
the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it
for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all
troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain
[293] by noticing the results when some of the more daring young
men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl
and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are
[671] very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white
man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this
happen.)

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

563 441 "Chamber of Commerce" should be founded in Vavau itself; but though the more sober-minded renounced this proposal as impracticable, they eagerly assured the sister Chamber in Tongatabu that they might be counted upon for support in the righteous crusade against the Customs department. A deputation from the still-born Chamber of Commerce waited upon me the morning after my arrival. The fumes of the public meeting had had time to evaporate, and I found the deputation to be sensible fellows, whose views contrasted favourably with the intolerant resolution of the body which they represented. The good sense and moderation of the traders of Vavau is not to be measured by the ferocity of their language when convened in a public meeting,—a phenomenon not altogether unknown in other parts of the world.

Two of the traders, a Russian Jew and an Englishman, were accused by the police of carrying on an illicit trade [273] in liquor. The law of Tonga forbids the sale of intoxicants to natives under a heavy penalty, and it speaks well for the good sense of the people themselves that the native Parliament has always confirmed this wise restriction. British subjects are, besides, liable to penalties before the [689] Deputy-Commissioner's Court. Yet probably no offence is committed with greater impunity, owing to the difficulty of obtaining convictions when it is the interest of both seller and buyer to commit perjury.

000 I once tried a case in Fiji in which it appeared that the police had given an Indian coolie 6s. to buy whisky from a storekeeper, had watched him go empty-handed to the store and return with a bottle of the damning fluid in his hand, and had proved it by tasting to be nearly allied

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

girls. When not languidly handing plates these damsels whispered and giggled in the windows, and hid their blushes on each other's glistening shoulders.

The morning sitting has induced a remarkable appetite. The dinner on the first day numbered some seventeen courses of solid viands, yet scarce a plate goes away with enough upon it to indicate its contents. It is right to say, however, that this scale of entertainment is not maintained throughout the session. As the days went on, course after course fell away as the supplies in the storehouse diminished. The Lords are allowed a glass of sherry and a glass of beer each, the Cabinet Ministers half a tumbler of rum in addition; the Commons have to content themselves with beer only. At last the Chaplain hammers on the table with his knife-handle and says grace, and the places of the legislators are taken by as many of the Civil servants as can muster trousers and shoes. There follows a fatal half hour, during which the fell effects of such a dinner become apparent. When the bell rings members sink into their places, glare determinedly at the ceiling for a few moments, and lapse into unconsciousness. The Sergeant-at-Arms, having drunk neither *ele* nor *lamu*, rises and creeps stealthily towards the Lords. Such of the members as still retain consciousness crane their necks in breathless excitement. He is stalking Havea, Lord of Haapai. Catlike he creeps on, gold-mounted scabbard in hand, poises the weapon over the bowed head, and—Havea starts up with an exclamation that I could translate exactly, though I never heard it before. The House indulges in a well-bred titter. Meanwhile the clerks are looking round the House, and making frequent entries in

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga.

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails.

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

and females, and may be called the family club in Tonga. Men and women drink side by side, frequent dances and activities are held, and movies are shown for children on some Saturdays and afternoons. No *kava* is served in any of these clubs and the standard fare is "Fiji Beer" or "Steinlager," scotch and water, gin and tonic, or rum and coke. Alcoholic beverages can also be purchased for approximately triple the club prices from the various hotels in the Kingdom.

An intriguing aspect of the Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club was the presence, on numerous occasions, of several Tongans who belonged to Churches whose members were (theoretically) supposed to abstain from drinking alcoholic beverages. Once they entered the club, however, the rules were changed and they "shouted" drinks with the best of them! When questioned about this seeming inconsistency in their religious beliefs, some Tongans stated that the club was "neutral" territory. This would appear to happen in more than one club as an article pointed out about a political campaign where "just about everything was tried."

> [The Tongan candidate for the Legislative Assembly] approached fellow church-goers in the . . . community but at the same time sported whiskies and Steinlagers at Nuku'alofa bars (Anonymous 1969).[2]

There are numerous *kava* bars throughout the islands of Tonga. In the various *kava* bars, individuals may purchase small coconut shell cups of *kava* which cost a few cents. Just as *kava-palangi* or alcoholic beverages may be purchased in the large stores, *kava Tonga* or small bundles of the root of the *Piper methysticum* may be purchased from the small shops (*fale koloa*, literally "house of riches" or "house of treasure") which are in every village and in Nuku'alofa.

Significance of Kava Drinking

Lemert has written that "Tongans distinguish three types of *kava* drinking" namely [1] *fai-kava*, or the *kava* drinking of the common people; [2] the *'ilo kava*, the honorific term applied to the kava drinking of the *'eiki* (high ranking individuals); and [3] the *Taumafa kava*, or the monarch's (or Royal) *kava* ceremony (1967:188). This threefold distinction is too fine and I am in agreement with His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake, the Premier of Tonga and His Majesty's brother, who has pointed out that "there are two types of *kava* ceremonies, the ordinary *kava* ceremony and the King's *Kava* Ceremony (*Taumafa kava*)" (1955:48). The ceremony known as *'ilo kava* should be seen as a mediating ceremony between the *fai kava* (informal) and *Taumafa kava* (highly formal) ceremonies. For all essential purposes there are only two types of *kava* ceremonies in Tonga: those in which the reigning ruler

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day. With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the "agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.

Conclusions

The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava* drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve" feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems; [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava* drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with non-Tongans.

There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any certainty as to the serving order of the *kava*. The precedence of serving for all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on the occasion and those present.

As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava* sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consumption patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a preponderance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114.
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Josaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-Kanokubolu, Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Tauta-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE [N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SIMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal party on *H.M.S. Kao*. I route to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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> they have to give to God—this is one evil—the more their mind is engrossed in the idea of dress (fakasanisani) beautiful, the less it contemplates God and things divine. (Whewell to General Secretary, Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

The traders were resentful of the fact that the missionaries were chiefly responsible for the growing sophistication of the people in the art of trade. In the early days they were able to fill their ships with provisions in exchange for a few guns, beads, nails, pieces of hoop iron and cheap calico and printed cloth. After the establishment of the mission and the introduction of schools, the people were taught the value of money and of articles of trade among the civilised countries. They soon refused to trade for cheaper goods and wanted either payment in money or more valuable articles. Peter Turner recorded on his way to Tonga by ship in 1831:

> Many on board think with ungodly captains that missionaries do more hurt than good among heathens, because they cannot do with them as they did while their minds were held in darkness and error. They cannot now buy a fine hog for a large nail, or a piece of hoop iron. (P. Turner, Journal, 23 Feb. 1831)

Among the severest critics of the missionaries was the trader, Peter Dillon, and, in defending the mission against his accusations, the Reverend David Cargill (1842:29-30) wrote:

> We are informed, (page 3,) that, in 1827, the Chevalier [Dillon] 'procured an abundant supply of hogs, poultry, etc., for a few glass beads,' and that 'on his last visit it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure sufficient for his own mess, for which he had to pay dollars.' For once, I believe, the truth of any of the statements in the work which I have been examining. In 1827 the people were ignorant and poor, and would exchange their commodities for almost any article of European manufacture. In 1837 they valued 'a few glass beads' no more than their disappointed and chagrined visitor valued such trifles.

Another source of conflict was over the question of the sale of liquor in Tonga. Selling 'grog' was a source of handsome profit for the traders. The missionaries, however, objected strongly to this form of trade. They were convinced that it was harmful to the people and would ruin their efforts. A later missionary wrote:

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> Some traders not satisfied with 2 or 3 hundred percent on their goods and the difference in the value of oil (here £12—in Sydney £30 or more) have introduced ardent spirits as article of trade. We expect commerce will follow in the wake of Christianity, but when it attempts to unchristianize an infant Christian people we deplore it. (Whewell to General Secretary, Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

Another major sorce of discord between the traders and the missionaries was over the question of women. John Thomas (Journal, 19 Mar. 1831) recorded the following episode:

> The captain that was here last has left an ill savour behind him . . . He tried several persons in order to get a woman for his base purposes, but I am happy to know that he did not succeed. One chief viz Tuihaatuho told him he could not let him have one and when he (the Cap.) applied to Taufaahau he told him he could not do it, that he feared Jehovah and also he met in Society and wished to do as I taught him. These things would have a very bad tendency upon the infant cause here.

Another example of the clashes over women was reported by Rabone (Journal, 2 Aug. 1836) who commented upon certain incidents in his journal which 'made us ashamed of the name of Englishmen'. It appears that a Captain Brind of the trading vessel *Tower Castle* called at the island of Rotuma and, as several Rotumans wished to go to Tonga, he offered to take them. On leaving the island he took one female as his mistress, but after being at sea four days, in a fit of drunkenness he threw her overboard. His crew rescued the woman, without his knowledge, and stowed her away. Meanwhile he had taken another female, a young virgin, who was on her way to Tonga to marry a young chief. These actions grieved both the Rotumans and the Tongans very deeply. On a later voyage, he returned to Tonga and invited some Tongans and Rotumans on board, among whom was the young chief. who objected to his wife going. A fight broke out between one of Brind's men and the chief in which the young chief was killed. When this became known to the Tongans, a few hours later, they took the murderer and killed him.

The missionaries believed that the conduct of these captains was responsible for some of the 'evil doings' of the natives, of which they later complained when they returned to their home ports (P. Turner 1831-38:75).

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs to show love to the people under them but to require them to be industrious and perform their duties to the government and to the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens, provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861, Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars'[2] and a liability 'to have the spirits taken from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions (especially those which had any religious connection) was one of uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian, and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38) asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former [Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited,

[2] This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

Another cause of much displeasure to the King and his chiefs was the growing friendship between the missionaries and the traders who, during the 1870s, persistently and arrogantly opposed the Tongan government. There had been a steady increase in the numbers of traders settling in Tonga since the latter half of the 1850s. They disliked the restrictions placed by the government on various features of their trading ventures. Sale of land, for example, was strictly prohibited under any circumstances, making it impossible for them to secure complete ownership of land, and sale of spirituous liquors was severely restricted. At first the traders blamed the missionaries for these prohibitions, but later they realised that the missionaries had become increasingly isolated from politics. They regarded it as unthinkable that they, who belonged to the 'Anglo-Australian' civilised race, should be governed by laws produced by a half-civilised King and his chiefs. One of them wrote:

> They will find their efforts to stay the tide of immigration useless . . . and England, being aware of the justice and importance of protecting, if not actually governing her subjects in these seas, the Anglo-Australian race will settle and find a living in the Friendly Islands, in spite of all the laws passed by Kings and chiefs. (*Fiji Times*, 22 Oct. 1870)

The belief that the British government would eventually annex Tonga was also shared by some visitors who went to Tonga. A traveller named Holt, who went there on a trading vessel in 1865, suggested in an article which appeared in one of the New Zealand papers that more people with small capital should take up business ventures in Tonga, for in a few years they would make a fortune. With regard to the question of security, he said that Britain would certainly take Tonga in the very near future (*New Zealand Advertiser*, 19 June 1865).

A few years later the principal traders sent a petition to the Governor of New South Wales complaining of the manner in which Europeans were treated, and what they were subjected to in Tonga. They requested the Governor to 'define a limit to the arbitrary authority of a government which to say the least, is and only can be semi-civilised' (Rutherford 1971:50).

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: "Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".[37] Modern theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".[38]

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness to practise immorality.[39] W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".[40]

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".[41]

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice. 797

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his people. 797 643 671

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition of God as the fount of law and authority:

> "It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you; he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his hands and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy." [779]

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured person to kill the pig and keep its carcase. [565] 622 461 689 622 565 685

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.) [46] It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u. [273] 671 684

> "May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all." [47]

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms, he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.[48] [797]

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was enjoined in these terms: 671 796 794

> "That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in their places of worship." 527

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. 671 692

315 648 1971. Nothing came of the search, and the consortium members finally abandoned their efforts in December of 1971. Early in 1975, Japan's largest oil-mining company expressed interest in further oil exploration, and in March of 1975 New Zealand's chief petroleum geologist visited Tonga and said, "Dig deeper!" The first two test holes were only 5500 feet deep, and the New Zealand geologist said at least 10,000 feet was necessary.[20] [643] In connection with future oil exploration plans, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV flew to Saudi Arabia in June of 1974. At hat time he also visited the Arabian Gulf oil state of Bahrain, and in March of 1975 His Majesty revisited Bahrain. In 1975, an American-based oil company became actively engaged in Tonga, and work continues.

CONCLUSIONS

178 459 What is the social and economic impact of tourism on Tonga? The benefits continue to outweigh, by a narrow margin, the negative aspects of tourism. Tourism in Tonga must not, however, be singled out and examined apart from other aspects of Tongan life, for it is closely bound to them. Too much tourism might well destroy what the tourists go to experience: the peace, graciousness, and beauty of a Polynesian island. Signs of deterioration of everyday life in Tonga which can be laid directly or indirectly to increased tourism [735] are already evident. Some Tongan children now beg [548] from the tourists at the major tourist attractions. Prostitution and homosexuality are increasing.[21] [838] Drunkenness is the major source of the increasing crime in the [694] Kingdom. Tongans have been evicted from their own [203] International Dateline Hotel for drunkenness in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist.[22] 178 674 Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are increasing. In 1973, there were 427 convictions for theft in the Kingdom, an increase of 23 percent over 1972.[23] In 1972, the Tongan Criminal Investigation Division preferred fifteen housebreaking and theft charges against two Tongan males who had apparently entered homes and had "stolen good(s) from New Zealand, American, [and] Australian volunteers in [the] Nuku'alofa area."[24] It is not at all unusual for windows on Tongan homes to be heavily barred, and for numerous dogs to be kept in the yards for warning and protection against thieves. Crimes of violence are also increasing, and non-Tongans are frequently attacked by Tongans. Referring to Tonga's growing crime problem, the Tongan Minister of Police said, "In view of population pressures and economic side effects, it is reasonable to predict [625] a future of potential increase of crime."[25] The Tongan

[p. 92-B]

A, B, C, D, E, F, [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

A truly balanced design for the future must combine the tourist interests with the other interests, both economic and cultural, in Tongan life. 179

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13. TTC, August 8, 1974.

14. De Bres 1974:8.

15. Ron Crocombe 1972:6; and see Crocombe 1973.

16. United Nations 1969: paragraph 13.

17. TTC, April 10, 1975.

18. TTC, February 20, 1975.

19. For future research dealing specifically with Tonga, the reader is encouraged to look to an M.A. in Anthropology from California State University, Chico, by Mr. R.B. Johnson Jr. Mr. Johnson gathered information on tourism and culture change in Tonga over the period February 1976-July 1976, and I am indebted to him for some recent discussions. 179 648 457 178 127

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20. TTC, March 27, 1975.

21. P.D. Wallis 1971:21.

22. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as stated elsewhere (1975b:46-47), when Tongans begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, "Tonga will indeed have some problems, for this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted." 178 457 273 674 276

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23. TTC, August 22, 1974.

24. TTC, October 12, 1972.

25. Anonymous 1970:20.

[p. 93-B]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

hotels for drunkenness (and for being badly dressed) in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist." Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are prevalent crimes, and in 1973, for example, there were 427 convictions for theft.

Conclusions

Deep-seated economic problems induced by a growing population have almost engulfed the tiny islands of Tonga. The glitter of tourist money seemingly promises a substantial portion of much-needed economic help, but would it bring more "troubled times"? The current substantial cruise business might be considered relatively benign in that visitors are short-term, and they arrive and depart at a preappointed hour. Comparatively little capital or space is required to cater to their needs, aside from docking areas and taxis or busses. Further, the money cruise passengers spend is largely for local services (transportation, amusement, and for handicrafts as souvenirs) and directly benefits individuals. The threatened demise of the cruise industry, to be replaced with an increasing number of air travelers, may be potentially more disruptive to the economy and to the culture. To accommodate air visitors, hotels and resort facilities must be financed and built, and they occupy land—already in short supply, giving to it by virtue of location a changed economic value. No longer "bush" or "town," now it is "recreational" land. Given the small size of Nuku'alofa as well as Tongatapu, one must imagine the impact if one thousand guests were continually present, day *and* night, demanding that their needs be catered—including on Sunday when Tongans traditionally do not work. And although air travel is currently nascent, with a limited number of annual visitors, the advent of mass travel could "Waikiki" the beaches, and inundate local culture as has already happened in Hawaii.

The Prime Minister of Tonga (His Majesty's brother) has repeatedly stressed that Tongan culture can withstand the impact of modern tourism development. I, too, am certain that Tongans will survive; however, will they still be Tongans? Or will they become yet another example of a people who have been forced to abandon their traditions (or at least remove them "back stage" away from prying eyes) to prevent their becoming the "quaint customs" of ethnic tourism?

The anthropological analysis of economic process [here, tourism] differs from the statistical methods employed by economic planners in that the former assesses the impact upon culture and the social milieu rather than being restricted to balance-of-trade or the CPI. There is an ethnohistoric component to culture change—from then to now—just as there is a cross-cultural component—from there to here—that must be studied. Tongans must become aware of the changes that have occurred

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276 574 461 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

276 527 585 764 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

276 178 Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village, compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in [177] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.

[293] [292] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the [415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings 276 574 565 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

178 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

/198 cont./

result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago, and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

(146)

518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

276 261 262 272 273 /198 cont./ chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic beverages.

Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga. 276 574 Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 344 ff.

[198] It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 [199] /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The 276 177 439 younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 889 178 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the

/200 cont./

262 sour and sweet hard candies, which, like chewing gum, may be obtained
432 from shopkeepers on most of the islands.

272 Tea, coffee and cocoa, though they may be bought today on many
432 islands of the Archipelago, have not attained great importance for the Tongans. (522)

522. See chapter on "Food," p. 275 ff.

273 The natives cannot easily obtain alcoholic beverages (kava
[439] papalangi). Limited amounts are probably imported, but only a few
[656] Tongans have the required permit from the minister of police that entitles them to one bottle of spirits per month. On the black market the natives obtain only very small quantities of alcohol.
[177] Various Tongans have become experienced in making alcoholic beverages (using, for example, sugar [or artificial honey], yeast and pineapple), especially through their contact with foreign troops on Tongatapu
[687] during the second World War. But this illegal production that can be punished by imprisonment has heretofore been proportionately small, chiefly around Christmas time, and of late it has become insignificant.

276 Thus, European influences in the area of luxuries have brought
177 about a certain change, chiefly through the importation of tobacco. But, although most Tongans enjoy smoking, they have not become so addicted to tobacco that they are actually dependent on it; (523)

523. For example, on the small islands, shopkeepers often run out of tobacco, and the Tongans who then lack smoking supplies usually bear the time they must wait for a new shipment with equanimity.

this is, of course, also not the case with the other new and less important luxuries.

C. Copra Production

245 Copra production (524)
177

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Many, though not all, of these imports are of little nutritive value and may be actually detrimental to the health of the people. In Tonga, for example, a recent French survey of the capital city revealed a dramatic increase in the consumption of high energy foods, such as sugar, alcohol, and highly processed foods. As a result, the French study concluded, there was a rapid rise in the incidence of dental caries within the Tongan population, accompanied by a general decrease in the overall nutritional status, especially among preschool children (Hansell 1962).

This is not to imply that all food imports are of little nutritive value or that Tonga should strive to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. However, it is clear that some form of control, governing the quantity and quality of certain foods, should be considered. Such action should be aimed at improving the quality of imports, including flour, meats, and grains. Consideration of the nutritional status of urban populations is advisable in view of the rapid expansion of this population segment and the increasing utilization of imported foodstuffs.

The economic shift of the populace is another major cause of urbanization. This shift has been most notable in the agricultural sector of Tonga's national economic structure. The effects upon agriculture are felt in two significant areas. As alternatives to agriculture are found in cash employment in urban areas, the cash income of the people involved increases and imported foods, often seen as status symbols, are sought as such. Therefore, the per capita urban demand for indigenous foodstuffs tends to decline,

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

125 The information acquired for the household frequency of consumption record usually consisted of rough approximations. However, several important aspects became evident during the rural to
263 urban comparison. For example, household usage of sugar was found to be as high as 3.31 pounds per person per week in Nuku'alofa, although the average for the entire urban sample was 1.18. On the other hand, rural consumption of sugar averaged only .57 pounds per
262 week. Cereal products, including bread and flour, are also used in greater quantities in Nuku'alofa than in rural areas.[1]

[272] The consumption of soft drinks, alcoholic products, and
[273] cassava significantly increased in the urban areas, while the con-
[435] sumption of yams decreased. In the case of tubers, this fact most probably reflects economic forces which dictate that a basket of cassava cost T$.80, while a basket of yams sells of T$10-12.[2]

A higher rate of consumption of canned meat products was also observed in the urban area, although this product is widely used throughout Tonga--a probable reflection of its ease of distri-
125 bution, storage and social status. A purchase of two samples of
146 the most commonly used canned meat, and a subsequent proximal

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[443] [1]This data may have been influenced by the distribution of
[438] such products over the islands. Surveys of stores in rural villages indicated that often sugar, flour and bread were not in stock. At times, the entire Kingdom is devoid of such basic commodities as sugar or flour. In one such incidence, over two weeks elapsed before a new shipment arrived from overseas sources, during which the entire nation lacked sugar. However, even with consideration being given to these influences, a significant variation between rural and urban consumption is evident.

[2]Prices acquired in the Nuku'alofa market, October, 1974.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

272 a popular drink at mealtimes. It is actually little more than hot sugar water and remains a poor substitute for milk or broth.[1]

262 146 273 Snack foods consumed by urban preschoolers also are of poor nutritional quality such as imported cookies (called biscuits), soft drinks, and miscellaneous items (cheese puffs were observed to be favorites). 262 In rural areas a child is most often given coconut, taro or a fruit, such as papaya or mango, when in season. Rural children also enjoy a greater variety of foods per meal, with several tubers being supplemented by fruit and frequently meat or fish.

146 To summarize, the preceding data indicated that individuals residing in urban Tonga consume less nutritionally balanced diets. [124] This was substantiated by interviews with the medical staff of Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu. The urban group most frequently having substandard diets was found to be migrants from other islands or

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272 146 [439] [1]The low consumption of milk in all regions of Tonga, but especially Nuku'alofa, is a nutritional shortcoming in the Tongan diet. Imported milk sources such as powdered, sweetened condensed or evaporated products are available and, if used properly, could be influential in improving the preschool dietary condition. However, the most frequent way of serving milk is to substantially dilute the mixture with water (often unclean) and thereby reducing the nutritional value. Domestic sources of cow's milk are scarce and expensive, while the large milk goat population in Tonga represents a largely unused potential milk source. A nutritive comparison of goat's milk and cow's milk indicates that goat's milk is quantitatively higher in most vitamins and minerals, contains more fat, a higher total caloric value in addition to a reasonably equal protein value. Widespread use of goat's milk, as suggested in previous chapters, would improve the nutritional conditions of many currently malnourished Tongan children. However, the consumption of goat's milk is believed to be indicative of low social prestige and government officials are unreceptive to information concerning its potential value.